

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179599

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MCAP, NATO
SUBJECT: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE

REF: A. USNATO 4180; B. USNATO 4174; C. STATE 168334;
D. USNATO 4368

1. WE ARE SOMEWHAT CONCERNED OVER HUMPHREYS' INTENTION
TO RELEASE A FIRST DRAFT TEXT FOR MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE
SHORTLY AFTER END OF AUGUST FOR DISCUSSION IN DRC IN
MID-SEPTEMBER. WE THINK THIS IS MOVING TOO FAST FOR
INJECTION OF NEW SUBSTANCE.

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2. SUGGEST MISSION PROPOSE TO HUMPHREY THAT HE

SCHEDULE A SERIES OF DRC DISCUSSIONS IN SEPTEMBER ON KEY ELEMENTS OF DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, WITH ANY EFFORT TO CONSIDER ACTUAL TEXTS PUT OFF UNTIL EARLY OCTOBER.

3. WE RECOGNIZE ATTRACTION OF USE OF HEADINGS OF 1973 GUIDANCE (DPC/D(73)8) AS A LIST OF KEY ELEMENTS OF GUIDANCE, BUT WE WOULD NOT WANT RIGID ADHERENCE TO THESE. WE SEE POSSIBLE NEED TO INCORPORATE GUIDANCE TO COUNTRIES ON SUCH TOPICS AS USE OF WARNING TIME, RATIONALIZATION, ETC., AND TO DPC PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES IN THEIR MANAGEMENT OF SUPPORTING PROGRAMS. AS INDICATED IN REF C, WE ALSO FORESEE SOME COVERAGE OF A LONG RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT FOR NATO. HENCE, STRUCTURE AND SCOPE OF

GUIDANCE SHOULD INITIALLY BE KEPT OPEN.

4. FOLLOWING COMMENTS RELATE TO AND ARE KEYED TO MISSION VIEWS IN PARA 3, REF A:

A. SOVIET POLICY AND STRATEGIC BALANCE. AGREE THAT SECTION IS TOO LONG. UPDATED LANGUAGE FOR SOVIET POLICY COULD BE DRAWN FROM RECENT APAG REPORT (C-M(74)47).

B. THREAT. WHILE WE AGREE THAT MC 161-74 WOULD GENERALLY BE SOURCE FOR THIS SECTION, WHICH NEED NOT BE LONG, DISCUSSION OF CONVENTIONAL BALANCE MIGHT BE BETTER SERVED IN A SEPARATE SECTION, AND VIEW OF ADEQUACY OF THE PROJECTED CONVENTIONAL BALANCE WITHIN CURRENT STRATEGY SHOULD REFLECT MINISTERIAL JUDGMENT, HAVING TAKEN MC ASSESSMENT INTO ACCOUNT.

C. WARNING OF WAR. 1973 COVERAGE IS MUCH TOO RESTRICTED IN SCOPE. COVERAGE SHOULD INCLUDE USE OF WARNING TIME AND READINESS OF NATO NATIONS TO TAKE MEASURES DURING A PERIOD OF INCREASING TENSION (AND/OR WP BUILDUP) TO IMPROVE DEFENSIVE READINESS AND STRENGTHEN THE CONVENTIONAL DETERRENT. TREATMENT OF HOW MUCH WARNING OF WAR COULD BE EXPECTED MIGHT WELL BE RESTRICTED TO REFERENCE TO MC 161-74 COVERAGE, WITH USE OF WARNING TIME AND NATO RESPONSE DURING

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PERIODS OF TENSION OR BUILDUP COVERED UNDER A SEPARATE HEADING OF "USE OF WARNING TIME - THE INCREASED DETERRENT PHASE." IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT INCREASED NATO DEFENSIVE, PRECAUTIONARY OR PREPAREDNESS MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE DELAYED UNTIL THERE IS A CLEAR AND FINAL, DEFINITIVE WARNING OF WAR BUT SHOULD BEGIN IN THE INCREASED DETERRENT PHASE. THESE PREPARATIONS WOULD INCLUDE NATIONAL ACTIONS TAKING PLACE FOR THE

MOST PART OUTSIDE OF THE NATO ALERT SYSTEM BUT COORDINATED IN THE DPC OR COUNCIL.

D. TECHNOLOGY. WE SUGGEST MISSION RECOMMEND TO HUMPHREYS THAT HE SECURE APPROPRIATE COVERAGE FROM ASG DEFENSE SUPPORT. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP COVERAGE HERE ALSO.

E. RESOURCES. THIS SECTION SHOULD COVER FINANCIAL RESOURCES, MANPOWER CONSTRAINTS, AND AVAILABILITY OF EMERGENCY SUPPORT FROM THE CIVIL SECTOR. WE THINK DRC SHOULD LOOK AT ALTERNATIVE FORMULAS OF (1) MAINTENANCE OF SAME PERCENTAGE OF GNP FOR DEFENSE, BUT WITH THOSE BELOW AVERAGE MOVING TOWARD THE AVERAGE; AND (2) MAINTENANCE OF DEFENSE SPENDING IN REAL TERMS PLUS AN

ANNUAL INCREASE OF 3 TO 5 PERCENT; FOR NATIONS WITH DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES OUTSIDE NATO THIS FORMULA WOULD CALL FOR MAINTENANCE OF DEFENSE SPENDING FOR NATO IN REAL TERMS PLUS AN ANNUAL INCREASE OF 3 TO 5 PERCENT IN THE DEFENSE SPENDING FOR NATO. UNDER A RISING GNP, FIRST ALTERNATIVE IN SOME CASES COULD RESULT IN FORCE PROPOSALS FAR BEYOND COUNTRY INTENTION OR ACCEPTANCE. SECOND FORMULA SEEMS REASONABLE AS LONG-TERM NORM. WE DO NOT WISH TO RULE OUT CONSIDERATION OF OTHER ALTERNATIVES; OBJECTIVE OF HAVING CLEAR RESOURCE GUIDANCE FOR PLANNING PURPOSES FOR EACH COUNTRY MAY REQUIRE CONSIDERATION OF INDIVIDUAL FORMULATIONS IN CASES OF SPECIAL ECONOMIC SITUATIONS, AS IN GREECE, PORTUGAL AND TURKEY. THIS SECTION SHOULD ALSO RECOGNIZE NEED FOR INCREASED SUPPORT OF COMMON NATO PROGRAMS, IF OBJECTIVES OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND OVERALL EFFECTIVENESS ARE TO BE MET.
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F. OVERALL DEFENSE PLANNING. THIS IS THE MAJOR AREA FOR COVERAGE OF US INITIATIVES, TO INCLUDE US CALL FOR PLANNING WHICH WOULD TAKE ALL FORCES INTO ACCOUNT. THIS SHOULD BE ONE OF KEY SECTIONS OF PAPER.

5. WASHINGTON WORK ON KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE IS CONTINUING. WE HOPE TO FURNISH A PARTIAL DRAFT BY MID-AUGUST FOR MISSION REVIEW, WITH MORE COMPLETE DRAFT BY EARLY SEPTEMBER.

6. OUR OBJECTIVE FOR DECEMBER IS FULL AND FRANK MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF DRAFT GUIDANCE. WE NEITHER EXPECT NOR WANT THE DRC TO PRODUCE A FULLY AGREED DRAFT; WE WOULD NOT WISH TO PAPER

OVER IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES IF THE THRUST AND PRECISION
OF GUIDANCE WOULD BE DILUTED. USE OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE
OR PREFERABLY LISTING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR
MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION WOULD BE A USEFUL APPROACH.

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